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Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 NIC-01 ACDA-19 EB-11 COME-00 OMB-01

TRSE-00 FEA-02 INT-08 OIC-04 SAJ-01 SIL-01 LAB-06

SAM-01 DRC-01 /170 W
---------- 006474
R 132247Z MAY 74
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4058
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 1770

DEPARTMENT FOR IO AND EUR/SOV
FROM AMB BENNETT, HEAD OF U.S. DELEGATION TO ECE SESSION
AT BUCHAREST

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR ECE EEC
SUBJ: POLITICAL ASPECTS ECE MEETING IN BUCHAREST

1. DURING COURSE OF THE RECENT ECE MEETING, HELD
AT BUCHAREST MAY 17 TO 29, THERE WAS BOTH GENERAL AND
SPOT REPORTING BY USDEL, AND THE OVERUALL REPORT ON THE
SESSION IS NOW IN PREPARATION AND WILL BE SUBMITTED
SHORTLY THROUGH CUSTOMARY CHANNELS. PERHAPS AK FEW OBSER-
VATIONS ON THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE MEETING WILL BE
OF INTEREST AT THIS TIME.

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2. PLAINLY THE SOVIETS WERE LESS TUHAN OVERJOYED OVER THE

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DECISION, TAKEN ON ROMANIAN INITIATIVE, TO HOLD THE 29TH ECE SESSION AT BUCHAREST. DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL THAT MEMBER STATES WERE GENERALLY UNENTHUSIASTIC OVER THIS DEPARTURE FROM NORMAL ECE PRACTICE OF MEETING AT GENEVA, BUT ONCE IN BUCKHAREST THINGS WENT WELL AND THE ROMANIANS EXERTED THEMSELVES TO ENSURE A SUCCESSFUL MEETING. SOVIET UNHAPPINESS WAS MAINTAINED AT BUCHAREST JUST BELOW THE LEVEL OF OPEN DISPLEASURE. CONTRATY TO THEIR USUAL PRACTICE OF LARGE-SCALE ENTERTAINING FOR ECE, USDEL WAS UNABLE TO DISCOVER EVIDENCEOF EVEN SO MUCH AS THE OFFER OF A CUP OF TEA TO OTHER DELEGATES BY SOVIETS AT BUCHAREST. THIS WAS IN CONTRAST TO BEHAVIOR OF BRITISH, FRENCH, BOTH GERMANS, CZECHS, POLES AND OTHERS IN GIVING LARGE RECEP-TIONS AND SLIGHTLY MORE MODEST ENETERTAINMENT IN FORM OF LUNCHEONS OFFERED BY OTHER DELEGATIONS SUCH AS U.S. AND CANADIAN. IN CONNECTION WITH MEETING'S PRINCIPAL RESOLU-TION, AGAIN A ROMANIAN INITIATIVE, SOVIETS REFRAINED FROM COSPONSORSHOP. U.S. WAS ABLE TO COSPONSOR, ALONG WITH SIZEABLE NUMBER OF WESTERN MEMBERS, AND IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND POLAND FROM EASTERN CAUCUS WERE AMONG THE COSPONSORS.

3. ROMANIA FORGED AHEAD WITHITS INITIATIVE FOR A RESO-LUTION AND WAS A VERY ACTIVE HOST, PROVIDING EFFICIENT CONFERENCE FACILITIES AND OFFERRING A SERIES OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL EVENTS FROM PRIME MINISTERIAL LEVEL DOWN, TOGETHER WITH ARRANGEMENTS TO ENABLE DELEGATES TO GET OUT FROM BUCHAREST ON THE TWO WEEKENDS TO SEE SOME-THING OF THE ROMANIAN COUNTRYSIDE. ENTIRE COUNTRY WAS OPEN FOR DELEGATES TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR PRIVATE TOURS AS DESIRED: THERE APPEARED TO BE NO RESTRICTIONS ON TRAVEL, INCLUDING RUTHENIUAN BORDER OF USSR. ROMANIANS REMAINED NERVOUS THROUGHOUT THE MEETING OVER POSSIBILITY THAT SOVIETS WOULD COME DOWN HARD ON THEM, AND IN POINT OF FACT SOME CHANGES WERE MADE BEHIND THE SCENES ON THE ROMANIAN RESOLUTION SO THAT WE DID NOT BET THE LANGUAGE ON CSCE WHICH USDEL WOULD HAVE DESIRED. IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, ROMANIANS PLAYED THEIR CARDS WELL AND ACHIEVED THEIR OBJEC-TIVES. IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE MEETING, THE FIRST TIME A CHIEF OF STATE HAD SPOKEN BEFORE ECE, PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU
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GOT IN A FEW INDIRECT BUT UNMISTAKABLE DIGS AT SOVIET POLICY AND STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF NON-INTERFERENCE BY FOREIGN POWERS IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOVEREIGN MEMBER GOVTS.

4. THERE WAS SOME EVIDENCE, SIMILAR TO DEVELOPING TRENDS IN NY, THAT THE EC-9 HAD COME TO PRIOR DECISIONS ON ISSUES BEFORE WESTERN CAUCUS MEETING AND THEN EXPECTED THE CAUCUS TO ADOPT THE KEC POSQITION. IT CAME OUT TQHAT THE

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FRENCH CHAIRMAN OF THE WESTERN CAUCUS, AMB FERNEND-
LAURANT, HAD NEGLECTED TO PROVIDE U.S. MISSION GENEVA WITH
THE AGENDA FOR THE LAST CAUCUS SESSION HELD IN GENEVA BEFORE
THE BUCHAREST MEETING, AND THERE WERE AT BUCHAREST OTHER
EXAMPLES OF A SEEMING FRENCH EFFORT TO PRETEND THAT AMERICANS
DO NOT EXTIST.

5. A USEFUL COUNTERBALANCE TO THE FRENCH WAS PROVIDED AT
BUCHAREST BY AMB HERBST, HEAD OF DELEGATION OF FED REPUB-
LIC OF GERMANY. AMB HERBST WORKED IN CLOSE HARMONY
WITH USDEL AND SOUGHT ENERGETICALLY TO GET GENERAL ACCEPTANCE
OF WESTERN POSITIONS WITH WHICH U.S. WAS IN AGREEMENT.
BRITISH DELEGATION DID NOT PLAY A HIGHLY ACTIVE ROLE AND AMB-
HILDYARD GAVE THE IMPRESSION OF MARKING TIME, POSSIBLY
WHILE BASIC DECISIONS ARE UBEING SIFTED IN LONDON PUSUANT
TO RECENT UK POLITICAL CHANGES.

6. ALBANIA PLAYED ITS USUAL SNAPPISH, ISOLATED ROLE.
LEVEL OF ALBANIAN RHETORIC, WITH ITS DENOUNCIATION THIS TIME
OF SUPER-POWER IMPERIALISTS BY NAME, WAS PERHAPS A BIT SHARPER
THAN NORMAL. BOTH EASTERN AND WESTERN CAUCUS MEMBERS TRIED
TO LOOK THE OTHER WAY DURING ALBANIAN INTERVENTIONS AND
REPLIES BY SOVIETS, SUPPORTED BY BULGARIANS. USDEL RECALLED
CORDELL HULL'S EATHY ADVICE FOR THIS TYPE SITUATION AND
REFRANIED FROM ENTERING THE CONTEXT.

7. EXCEPT FOR ALBANIAN BEHAVIOR, BUCHAREST MEETING WAS
GENERALLY HARMONIOUS, AND THERE WAS NOTICEABLE LACK OF SHARP
CONTROVERSY WHICH HAD BEEN FEATURE OF SOME EARLIER SESSIONS
SPEECHES WERE IN THE MAIN TECHNICAL AND LARGELY NON-
CONTENTIOUS, ALTHOUGH SOVIETS AND OTHER EE'S GOT OFF SOME
COMMENTS ALLEGING WESTERNEXPLOITATION OF LDC NATURAL
RESOURCES AND BLAMING "IMPERIALIST MONOPOLIES AND MULTI-
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NATIONAL CORPORATIONS"" FOR ENERGY CRISIS AND OTHR ECONOMIC
ILLS. ON ENERGY ISSUE THE EASTERN CAUCUS SHOWED ITSELF

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TRSE-00 FEA-02 INT-08 OIC-04 SAJ-01 SIL-01 LAB-06

SAM-01 DRC-01 /170 W
---------- 005601
R 132247Z MAY 74
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4053
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 1770

MORE DISUNITED THAN THE WESTERNERS: THE SOVIETS FIRST OBJECTION OPENLY TO EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR STANOVNIK'S PLAN FOR EXPANDED STUDY OF ENERGY PROBLEMS, BUT THEN PULLED BACK AFTER SATELLITE SPEAKERS ENDORSED PROPOSAL AND APPARENTLY MADE THEIR OBJECTION TO THE SOVIET POSITION KNOWN FORCEFULLY IN CORRIDORS AND BEHIND-THE-SCENE DISCUSSIONS. IN FACT, THE ONLY DELEGATION AT BUCHAREST WHICH SEEMED TO BE ON A TIGHT REIN TO SOVIETS WAS BULGARIA--POSSIBLY GDR SHOULD BE INCLUDED HERE AS WELL. CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY AND POLAND ALL SEEMED TO BE EXERCISING CONSIDERABLE FREEDOM WITHIN BOUNDS OF OVERALL EASTERN POLICY LINE. YUGOSLAVIA WENT ITS NOW WELL-CHARTED WAY.

8. ON CSCE AND THE POSSIBLE EFFECT OF DECISIONS THERE ON ECE'S FUTURE ACTIVITIES, NO LIGHT WAS SHED. THE SOVIETS REMAINED NON-COMMITTAL AND EVADED THE ISSUE. SEVERAL CONFIDENTIAL

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EASTERN CAUCUS REPRESENTATIVES, INCLUDING CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY AND POLAND, EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT SOVIETS WOULD MOVE POSITIVELY IN THIS AREA IN THE NEAR FUTURE. SZITA, OF HUNGARY WAS ESPECIALLY OPTIMISTIC IN THIS REGARD. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW WELL INFORMED THE SATELLITES ARE ON SOVIET INTENTIONS.

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9. AS REGARDS US.-SOVIET BILATERAL RELATIONS AT ECE BUCHAREST, IT IS ACCURATE TO SAY WE WERE FAIRLY SMOTHERED IN DETENTE. SOVIETS WERE ALL SMILES AND JOLLY TALK TO USDEL AND MADAM MIRONOVA, HEAD OF SOVDEL, MADE POINT OF CONSULTING AND PASSING TIME OF DAY WITH USREP, AS DID HER ALTERNATE ORNATSKY FOLLOWING HER DEPARTURE FOR GENEVA TO BE ON HAND FOR KISSINGER-GROMYKO MEETING. MIRONOVA OBVIOUSLY LIKED IDEA OF TWO RANKING ECE MEMBERS CONSORTING TOGETHER, ALTHOUGH SHE OFFERED LITTLE ON SUBSTANCE. FOLLOWING USREP'S SEVERAL PRESENTATIONS OF SET PIECES IN ACCORD WITH AGENDA ITEMS, SENIOR MEMBERS OF SOVDEL AND RANKING SOVIET MEMBER OF SECRETARIAT WOULD FILE PAST ONE BY ONE TO OFFER EFFUSIVE PRAISE FOR U.S. POSITION AND EXPRESS FULL AGREEMENT. INTERVENTIONS BY U.S. WERE TECHNICAL FOR THE MOST PART AND DID NOT DESERVE SPECIAL NOTICE, MUCH LESS PRAISE. DURING DISCUSSION ON SOCIAL OCCASION WITH TWO SENIOR MEMBERS OF SOVDEL, BOTH ASSURED USREP THEIR GREAT HOPE WAS TO SEE PROCESS OF DETENTE MADE "IRREVERSIBLE." THIS WAS THE KEY WORD, THEY STRESSED. THIS STEADY EMPHASIS ON DETENTE, HOWEVER, DID NOT PREVENT SOVIET DELEGATION AND OTHER EE'S FROM TAKING INDIRECT DIGS AT U.S. AND WESTERN POLICIES, AS INDICATED IN PARAS 7 AND 10.

10. IN DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, WESTERN DELEGATES GAVE GENERALLY FRANK AND OPEN PRESENTATIONS, CALLING ATTENTION TO EFFECTS OF ENERGY CRISIS AND OTHER PROBLEMS ON GROWTH PROSPECTS, INFLATION, ETC. EASTERN CAUCUS SPEAKERS INVARIABLY FOUND NO FAULT WITH THEIR ECONOMIES, ALL POLICIES PERFECT IN SOCIALIST WORLD, NO INFLATION, NO UNEMPLOYMENT, ETC., ETC. REFRESHING INFUSION OF CANDOR WAS MADE IN THIS CONNECTION BY NORWEGIAN AMBASSADOR BOYESEN WHO SAID PRIVATELY HE HAD ENOUGH OF THIS KIND OF IMBALANCE. HE POINTED OUT IN HIS REMARKS THAT ONE REASON WESTERN COUNTRIES HAD SUCH PROBLEMS AS INFLATION,
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PRESSURES ON WAGE-PRCE POLICIES, ETC., WAS THAT IN THE WEST WORKERS WERE ORGANIZED AND POWERFUL AND ABLE TO EXERT INFLUENCE ON GOVERNMENT POLICIES. THIS SHAFT WAS TAKEN LIGHTHEARTEDLY BY SOVIETS WHO COMMENTED THEY HAD HEARD ALL THIS BEFORE. HOWEVER, THIS LACK OF BALANCE IN ECE FILLS THE RECORD WITH THE PERFECTION OF EASTERN SOCIETIES AS TO THEIR ECONOMIC POLICIES, AND THE OPENNESS OF WESTERN DELEGATIONS IN PRESENTING THEIR PROBLEMS ALONG WITH THIER SUCCESSES DOES RESULT IN A DISTORTION OF THE TRUE PICTURE OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN EAST AND WEST. WE MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER WAYS TO CORRECT THIS IMBALANCE IN FUTURE SESSIONS.

1. IN SUM, ECE MEETING WAS WITHOUT DRAMATICS AND GENERALLY

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LOW KEY. PROGRESS WAS MADE IN A GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF
COOPERATION AND US OBJECTIVES WERE ACHIEVED. ON BALANCE WE WERE
PROBABLY HAPPIER WITH SESSION AND ITS OUTCOME THAN WERE SOVIETS.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR STANOVNIK'S COMMITMENT TO HIS POSITION AND
THE ENTHUSIASM WITH WHICH HE UNDERTAKES HIS ROLE SEEM
UNDIMINISHED. IN A TROUBLED AND UNCERTAIN WORLD THESE ARE
ASSETS WORTH HUSBANDING.
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